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THE Nation

January 1, 1955
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How Free Is the Free World?

A Special Issue on Colonialism

Articles by

Rupert Emerson, Wm. Bross Lloyd, Jr., Fenner Brockway, John V. Murra, and M. O. M. Maduagwu

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EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

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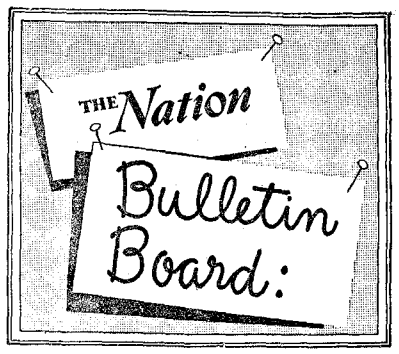

AMONG THE MANY Christmas greetings received by *The Nation* I particularly like the one from George Christopher of Syracuse, New York. *"The Nation,"* he wrote on his card, "is a Christmas gift every week of the year."

To Mr. Christopher, and to all our readers, the editors of *The Nation* extend best wishes for the New Year.

IF YOU ARE planning a trip abroad next summer we have just the thing for you. *The Nation* is sponsoring a six-week seminar on Social Change in Western Europe. The tour will be led by Professor Colston Warne of Amherst College, and the countries to be visited include England, Denmark, Sweden, France, Switzerland, and Germany. You will meet outstanding political leaders, writers, and other prominent people. Further details will be announced shortly. Meanwhile, those interested should write to me.

IN A FEW DAYS Dick Neuberger will take his seat in the United States Senate—the first Democratic Senator from Oregon in forty years. He has come a long way since he sold his first magazine article to us in October, 1933. Entitled The New Germany, this stemmed from a trip young Mr. Neuberger had taken to Nazi Germany. Refuting current reports about the "peaceful" land of Hitler, he wrote: "Everywhere I saw evidence of cruelty, violence, and death. Hitler and his lieutenants must smile behind their hands when they watch tourists leave Germany with stories of the courtesy and fine manners of Nazi officials." With German rearmament pending today, some of the same old lieutenants must be roaring with laughter.

LOOKING AHEAD: Next week's issue of *The Nation* will present the affirmative side of a debate on the question "Should the United Nations' Charter Be Amended?" Dr. John Henry Merryman, assistant professor of law at Stanford, argues that it should be. In the issue of January 15 Dr. Merle Kling of Washington University will take the other side.

Also in the offing is a provocative article on the biological implications of radioactivity by C. H. Waddington of the Institute of Animal Genetics in Edinburgh. The distinguished British biologist analyzes the theories of the American biologists, H. J. Muller and A. H. Sturtevant, and reports his own startling conclusions.

REACTIONS to our special high-fidelity section have been coming in, and *The Nation* would like to hear from more readers how they feel about future articles on the same topic. Waldo Frank took time out from work on his forthcoming book to drop us a note saying he enjoyed the articles and thought they were a good "change of pace." A number of readers asked us to recommend good high-fidelity units. We will try to get such information from one of the authorities in the field. J. W. Rubin, advertising and sales-promotion manager of Allied Radio, thought that the hi-fi articles were "unusually well-written and should be stimulating and interesting to your readers. The whole subject of high fidelity is so completely tied in with the upsurge in appreciation of good music that I think it would be of interest to your publication to have additional articles." Mr. Rubin also sent along a handsome illustrated booklet entitled "This Is High Fidelity." If readers would like a free copy, drop me a postcard.

CHARLES P. TAFT'S article on the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (G. A. T. T.) drew numerous responses. K. G. Colwell, vice-president of the Guaranty Trust Company, writes: "Whatever tends to liberalize world trade appeals to bankers, and both G. A. T. T. and Mr. Taft's article are real efforts in that direction." Harold Stassen, head of the Foreign Operation Administration, said he was pleased to see the issue containing Mr. Taft's article, and Clarence B. Randall, chairman of the board of Inland Steel Company, expressed his appreciation of "Charlie Taft's discerning piece on the trade question in your current issue."

INTEREST in automation is mounting. In December the New York *Times* called it "a second and supplementary industrial revolution, gathering speed with sensational rapidity. Its effects promise to be as profound as those of the first." The *Times* also named John Diebold as the "leading authority" on the subject. All of which marks Editorial Director Carey McWilliams as a man of unusual prescience. Back in 1953 he asked Mr. Diebold to write a three-part series on automation. Some copies of the series are still available and readers can have them, with our compliments, as long as they last.

MARTIN SOLOW

Letters

California Politics

Dear Sirs: Grant McConnell's thesis in his article entitled California Conundrum: Why It Votes G. O. P. in your issue of December 4 was exceedingly interesting, but we feel that his approach to the problem was far too academic and completely ignored one of the main reasons for Republican successes and Democratic losses in California elections.

The most important contributing factor to Democratic defeats in California, in our opinion, has been the party's failure to produce outstanding candidates for public office. This is said without specific reference to the recent election, as we do not wish to be guilty of invidious comparisons, but for many years past, as we believe most impartial political observers would agree, there has been a sad paucity of men of real capacity and stature among the Democratic candidates for office in this state.

In most instances California voters, who are notable for their independence and freedom from party ties, have simply voted for the best man—and the best man was seldom in the Democratic ranks. If the Democratic Party is to end Republican rule in California, its first and greatest need is to induce men of first-rate capacity to seek office under its banner. It may well be argued that the Republican candidates have not always measured up to these specifications either, but in our opinion the Republican batting average—strictly on fitness for office—has been better by far than the Democratic performance in this regard.

Admittedly, we are both Republicans, and our opinions may be discounted on this score. However, we are public-relations counselors by trade, and if the Democratic Party consulted us in our professional capacity, we would make the same diagnosis.

CLEM WHITAKER
San Francisco LEONE BAXTER

Paradox

Dear Sirs: The following paragraph from "The Human Use of Human Beings" by Norbert Wiener (Houghton Mifflin, 1950) might interest your readers: "Our military men and our great merchant princes have looked upon the propaganda technique of the Russians, and have found that it is good. They have a worthy counterpart for the G. P. U. in the F. B. I., in its new role of political censor. They have not considered that these weapons form something fundamentally distasteful to humanity, and that they need the full force of an overwhelming faith and belief to make them even tolerable. This faith and belief they have nowhere striven to

(Continued on page 20)

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THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

Containment of Freedom . . *by Victor H. Bernstein*

WROTE Metternich of American foreign policy: "In fostering revolutions wherever they show themselves, in regretting those which have failed, in extending a helping hand to those which seem to prosper, [the Americans] lend new strength to the apostles of sedition and reanimate the courage of every conspirator." This was in 1824, a year after the promulgation of the Monroe Doctrine. There is no doubt that we were guilty as charged; had we not been, Latin America might still be Spanish today. One hundred and thirty years later—in 1954—we were still guilty as charged; had we not been, the conspirator Castillo Armas would not today be president of Guatemala. The difference between a Bolívar and a Castillo Armas is the measure of how far our policy has changed on the question of the freedom and the right to self-determination of peoples.

That we have lost our zest for revolution, our own as well as others, is nothing new. What is startling is how quickly and how far we have traveled in recent years toward complete identification with the interests of the dwindling but still powerful imperialisms of the West. Of eight major issues directly involving colonialism, trusteeships, or the treatment of native peoples debated at the recently concluded ninth session of the General Assembly, the United States opposed the demands of native peoples on four and abstained on two. We opposed U. N. action in behalf of the independence movements in Tunis, Morocco, and Cyprus, as well as India's plea for U. N. intervention in behalf of its nationals in South Africa; we abstained on South Africa's *apartheid* issue and on the Dutch-Indonesian conflict over West New Guinea. Of the other two votes, only one involved the taking of sides on an "imperialist" issue. This was our approval of a mild resolution, opposed by South Africa, affecting the union's claim to Southwest Africa.

The United States justified its vote on most of these items by adopting what William Bross Lloyd, Jr., elsewhere in this issue calls a "rigid" interpretation of the U. N. Charter. During the debate on *apartheid* Ambassador Lodge pointed out that Washington viewed with "increasing concern . . . the growing tendency to include on the agenda questions the international character of which is in question in the light of Article 2, Paragraph 7, of the Charter." The cited paragraph forbids the U. N. to intervene in "matters which are essentially within the jurisdiction of any state."

"It is too early to be sure," wrote the cautious New York *Times* recently, "but we may be seeing a general shift of United States policy, and indeed of a majority of the U. N. member states, toward a hands-off attitude in these so-called colonial issues." It would appear that the concept of containment is undergoing a considerable broadening, with the West determined to safeguard the "free world" against the encroachment not only of communism but also of freedom.

Here is a phenomenon of fundamental importance which has largely escaped public notice because the people involved are strange to us and far away, and because their motivations have nothing to do with the pros or cons of the cold war. In the following pages, which constitute in effect a special issue of *The Nation,* the problem is examined from many angles. Each of the authors is an expert in his field who has approached his assignment objectively, recording the undoubted victories as well as the defeats in the war against imperialism. In this war, as Mr. Murra reminds us, the U. N. is a principal battleground.

WHY has the United States dropped its role of messiah of the enslaved? Mr. Emerson and others of our contributors emphasize the manner in which the cold war has been affecting American policy. The recent U. N. debate on Cyprus could not have made the point plainer. The New York *Times* said:

> The State Department would have preferred to take a neutral position [on Cyprus] as it did in the Netherlands-Indonesian dispute over West New Guinea. In the end, however, strategic considerations prevailed over the desire not to hurt either of two good friends, Britain or Greece. . . .
>
> The British say flatly and rather convincingly that Cyprus is too valuable strategically to the Commonwealth and the West in general to be given up even nominally. . . . The United States officials feel that this is not the time . . . and that the United Nations is not the place to discuss such changes.

What is true of Cyprus is equally true of North Africa, where we are committed to continue French rule not only

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In This Issue

EDITORIAL

Containment of Freedom
by Victor H. Bernstein 1

ARTICLES

Colonialism and the Cold War
by Rupert Emerson 3

Role of the U. N.: Tightening the Brakes
by Fenner Brockway 6

American Policy: The Status Quo
by Wm. Bross Lloyd, Jr. 7

Trusteeship System: How It Operates
by John V. Murra 10

Africa: Last Stronghold
by M. O. M. Maduagwu 13

BOOKS

Mao's Problems and Prospects
by Edgar Snow 14

Asia in the Soptlight
by O. Edmund Clubb 15

An African Autobiography
by John V. Murra 16

THEATER *by Harold Clurman* 18

RECORDS *by B. H. Haggin* 19

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 600
by Frank W. Lewis opposite 20

BULLETIN BOARD
by Martin Solow opposite 1

LETTERS opposite 1

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because of American bases but because, in the broader perspective, we cannot expect France to be loyal to us unless we return the loyalty in some form. Just as in pursuit of the current conception of domestic security we are prepared to sacrifice the individual, so on a different level we are prepared to sacrifice whole peoples. The question arises whether such machinations can ever lead to the security we seek. In one way or another all the contributors to this issue seem to agree that the voice of the indigenous peoples must one day be heeded—and if not by us, then by the Russians.

The cold war, however, is not the only factor in America's change of policy. For one thing, we have ourselves become a colonial power; if we count our permanent military bases in Europe and in North Africa, the sun never sets on the American empire. Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands in the Caribbean; Hawaii in mid-Pacific; the Marshalls, Guam, and the Marianas still farther west; Alaska sealing the North Pacific: here is an empire of more than 2,500,000 people, scattered widely across the earth, over which we are closing our fist ever more tightly. And in point of fact if not of law, to these possessions must be added Formosa, certain islands off the shore of China, and South Korea, which today are part of our security system.

Beyond our visible empire is another and greater one. Recently Mr. Moekarto, the Indonesian ambassador to the United States, pointed out that colonialism does not end with the political independence of an area; it continues so long as the "independent" state is dependent for its economic life upon the export of a few primary commodities. This, wrote Walter Lippmann, explains

> . . . why we have become the principle object of anti-colonial propaganda. As we are the largest industrial power and therefore the greatest user of primary products, the dependence upon us is the greater.
>
> The negative and piecemeal approach which the United States and the other industrialized countries are now using is not good enough. Nor can we afford to postpone or ignore the question on the ground that the military cost of the cold war is so high that we cannot afford much else. It would be truer to say that we cannot afford not to offer convincing proof that we are willing to join in dealing with the problem.

It is idle to look forward to the American century. It is with us already, at least for the half the world which we unblushingly call free. Jean Farran, a distinguished French journalist, recently wrote that colonialism had become a sin which "can no longer be avowed and still less recommended. . . . The élite who take French enlightenment to Africa realize with consternation that the formula 'Liberty, Equality, Fraternity,' which they have had engraved on public monuments, has turned against them and become a seditious slogan." His words ring with a great truth for American as well as French ears.

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COLONIALISM

And the Cold War . . . *by Rupert Emerson*

COLONIALISM, the boast and strength of the Western powers only a few decades ago, has become a source of grave weakness and confusion. At the turn of the century it was possible to look to a world in which the non-white peoples, with rare exceptions, would remain tidily under imperial control for an indefinite future. By mid-century, after two global wars, that world has vanished, swept away by the revolt of Asians, Arabs, and Africans against white supremacy.

It is not that so many colonies have become independent but that the assumptions on which colonialism rested have had the props knocked from under them. The balance of effective power—moral, political, and physical—has shifted in such fashion as to turn confident colonialism into a series of defensive rearguard operations. This makes it all the more tragic that the United States, traditional champion of the under dog, should have joined the dwindling ranks of the colonial apologists just as the swing was in the other direction. The ending of the Indo-China war has removed one undefendable colonial situation to which the United States was committed, but it remains to be proved that the temper of Washington and the ties with imperial allies will permit the Administration to make bold use of the greater freedom thus acquired.

The First World War shattered the great land empires of Europe, and the second brought to a climax the disintegration of overseas empires in Asia. Even though an uneasy colonialism still exists in Africa, there has been a final reversal of the tide of centuries which bore the peoples of Europe to domination over most of the globe. The non-white peoples of the earth have declared in terms which none can refute that they will no longer accept the position of inferiority which lay at the heart of the imperialist system; and in the West itself the belief in the rightness of empire has been sapped beyond repair.

Wilsonian self-determination was proclaimed in the First World War as a doctrine of universal application, but in practice it was not intended to reach significantly beyond the confines of Europe or, more particularly, to penetrate into the colonial territories of the victors. Far more global in its direct impact and in its implications than its predecessor, World War II made self-determination a living principle for the non-European world, opening the door to a full assertion of the nationalist claims which had been mounting in the inter-war decades. Even by 1914 the forward sweep of Western imperialism had lost its momentum, and between the wars the imperial powers could hold on in many areas only through compromises and concessions. It was typical of the temper of the times that the Fascist attack on Ethiopia was generally recognized to be a shoddy anachronism; neither the powers nor the League of Nations, however, took more than half-hearted steps to choke it off.

Fitzpatrick in the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*

Learning About Colonialism the Hard Way

After 1945, old-style imperialism was in full retreat, even though the long arm of the United States embraced the Pacific and dipped into military bases at many other scattered points to counter the challenge of a new Communist imperialism. The United Nations Charter, asserting the paramountcy of native interests, explicitly pointed the way to colonial emancipation. For Asia and the Middle East the continued existence of a few embattled European dependencies could not obscure the fact that colonialism there was dead, though Asians still felt a very real interest in the struggles of African colonies. If before it had been necessary to explain the aberrant independence of Siam and Afghanistan, it now became necessary to seek out the special circumstances which made comprehensible the continued colonial status of Hongkong, Malaya, Dutch New Guinea (West Irian), and the more tranquil backwaters of North Borneo.

In substance and as symbol the transition of India to full, if partitioned, independence; the freeing of India from Dutch rule, largely through United Nations action; and the total removal of China from the Western sphere—whatever the implications of a new dependence on the Soviet Union—established a world in which the old signposts not only no longer served as useful guides but became dangerously misleading for those who had to deal with the new forces.

In striking contrast to the League's lack of concern with colonial issues, except in the particular case of the mandates, the more broadly based and less Europe-centered United Nations has been constantly embroiled in them, and the emergence of the Asian-Arab-African bloc gave notice that the former underlings had become the highly vocal and watchful champions of the non-white peoples in general and the colonial peoples in particular. That their zeal in

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RUPERT EMERSON, professor of international relations at Harvard University, was for a time director of the Division of Territories and Island Possessions in the Department of the Interior. He is the author of several books on colonial areas.

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behalf of non-self-governing territories strains the limits of the Charter as it was written at San Francisco is obviously of far less moment than that the newly freed peoples, often making common cause with the Soviet bloc and some of the Latin Americans, have resolved to liquidate colonialism. Colonies have ceased to be the private preserve of their imperial masters and have come into the public domain of international concern and even international action.

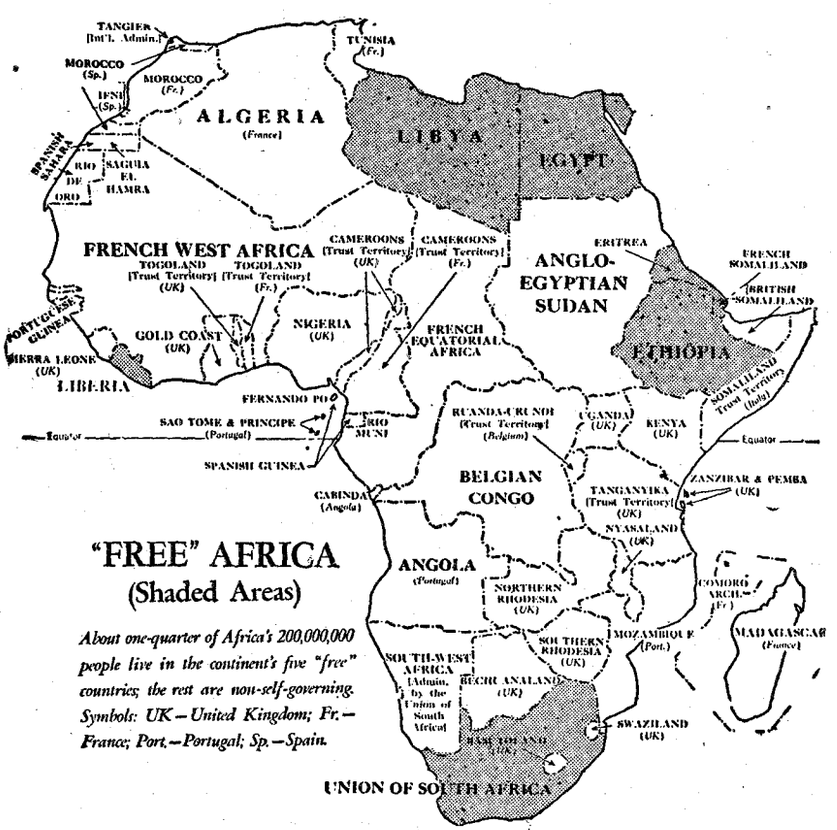
TO SAY that colonialism is dead in Asia is by no means to say that it is dead in the world at large, even though it has considerably changed its spots almost everywhere save in the Spanish and Portuguese areas. Colonial Africa stares us in the face, and there are a substantial number of other colonies dotted about on the face of the globe. In 1953 eight administering powers furnished the secretary general of the U. N. information on sixty non-self-governing territories, and to these must be added the eleven trust territories, the colonies of states not members of the U. N., and perhaps others whose removal from the non-self-governing category by the controlling power can be viewed with a certain skepticism. All told, the population of the world's colonies is still something like 200,000,000, or the equivalent of the population of the forty least populous of the U. N.'s sixty members.

Colonialism is probably dying, but there is still life in the old bones. The Belgians in the Congo, though increasingly aware that new breezes are blowing to which they must somehow adapt themselves, have scarcely slackened their autocratic grip. The French have regularly acknowledged the existence of alternative doctrines, but the old-established policy of assimilation continues to dominate their colonial practice and outlook, not without at least momentary success among the rising élites of tropical Africa. For the fullest and most daring implementation of the new ideas it is now necessary to turn to the British, who have moved ahead on a number of colonial fronts in disregard of old colonial maxims which once seemed unchallengeable principles.

The most urgent and hazardous of the problems which lie ahead concern the African areas, both French and British, in which a substantial body of white settlers confronts the far larger body of Africans whose countries they have in considerable part taken over. The Gold Coast, Nigeria, and Sierra Leone can move ahead in the new dispensation with some measure of serenity toward the creation of independent African states, but French North Africa, Kenya, and the new federation of British Central Africa, not to mention the Union of South Africa, with its appalling problems, are plagued with a racial conflict which cuts across every aspect of development and advance. In the British territories and in South Africa the presence of a large number of Indians and Pakistanis only serves to complicate an already acute situation.

ONE of the key facts which must be taken into account in any attempt to analyze and deal with the surviving colonialism is the radical diversity of the situations, relationships, and policies with which we are confronted. There are only a limited number of purposes for which it makes much sense to lump together and condemn all colonies. Of these the two most important are (1) to emphasize that colonialism is tolerable only when it works to create as speedily as possible conditions in which a meaningful equality of status can be achieved by colonial peoples, and (2) to demand that all the interim stages of inequality be carried out under the aegis of the principle of international accountability, overriding the counter-principle of domestic jurisdiction.

We have, however, already had experience enough to know that even these beneficent conceptions are not as simple as they sound. In relation to the first it has become evident that there are particular cases, such as Puerto Rico and perhaps the French West Indies, in which assimilation to or close association with the metropolitan power seems a better answer than outright independence. With respect to the second it is difficult not to acknowledge that there is some justice in the complaint of the colonial powers that they are being subjected to criticism not only by Communist spokesmen who seek to stir up trouble rather than to correct abuses but also by states whose home policies and circumstances are less advanced and less democratic than those now to be found in various of the better-run colonies. An odd twist also appeared in the recent General Assembly debate on the West Irian question, where some of those who opposed the Indonesian claim argued that if a sovereign Indonesia were to take over the disputed territory from



"FREE" AFRICA
(Shaded Areas)

About one-quarter of Africa's 200,000,000 people live in the continent's five "free" countries; the rest are non-self-governing. Symbols: UK—United Kingdom; Fr.—France; Port.—Portugal; Sp.—Spain.

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Dutch colonialism the people of West Irian would be deprived of such U. N. supervision and protection as might be derived from Chapter XI of the Charter, which deals with non-self-governing territories. At this point a kind of Alice-in-Wonderland bewilderment must be felt by statesmen who ponder the meaning of self-determination and colonialism.

The argument is also complicated by the intrusion of what has been called the "salt-water fallacy." This is the contention, particularly advanced by the Belgians, that there is no good reason to single out for invidious treatment the subjection of overseas colonial peoples when there are many other non-self-governing peoples, equally worthy of solicitous international attention, who happen not to have salt water between them and their overlords. The Belgians have a point not easy to dispose of on theoretical grounds, but in the world of practical politics it has had no real success in diffusing the glare of the spotlight focused on colonial issues. By sensible rule of thumb the conclusion has been reached that overseas colonies do in fact constitute a distinct problem, and the anti-colonialists are not to be diverted by the most irrefutable demonstration of the evils visited on the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union, the Indians of Latin America, or the aboriginal population of other countries.

FOR most other purposes than the two mentioned, and particularly for concrete political action, it is the diversity rather than the identity of colonialism which must be taken into account. For the anti-colonial fanatics it may be a matter of indifference whether the case at hand concerns the Americans in the Virgin Islands or the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, the French in Morocco or Equatorial Africa, the British in the West Indies, Malaya, Kenya, or Nigeria, the Belgians in the Congo, or the Portuguese in Angola. The less pure in heart are likely to find that they must draw some serious distinctions.

It is one thing to say, in the words of the Charter, that the peoples of all these territories should be insured "their political, economic, social, and educational advancement" and should be helped to develop free political institutions. It is a very different thing to assume that their

various needs, conditions, and aspirations can be satisfactorily met by anything approaching identical measures, save in the general sense that no colonial policy is acceptable in the modern world that does not have as its goal the attainment of equality for subject peoples. A blanket drive for immediate independence for all would be likely to make the situation more rather than less chaotic. Many of the peoples of tropical Africa and of the Pacific are so far from crossing the threshold into the modern world as to make it grossly improbable that they could manage their own affairs either to their own satisfaction or to that of the rest of the world.

The grant of independence, under U. N. auspices and as the product of international politicking, to an internally divided, poverty-stricken, and illiterate Libya has crystallized the doubts which many felt, and the surprising question has now been raised whether the British are not perhaps moving too fast in West Africa rather than too slowly and too late. The cry of "Freedom" chanted by the awakened masses of the Gold Coast is not without its threatening as well as its heartening aspects. Coming at the matter from another angle, a glance at the state of affairs in Afghanistan, Iran, and Saudi Arabia, in Ethiopia, Liberia, and Haiti, works to undermine any confident conviction that independence *per se* offers a sure path to liberty, progress, and prosperity.

Whatever the moral strength of the argument that there should never have been any colonialism—and it is not an argument to which the answer is wholly self-evident—it is a stark fact in the middle of the twentieth century that vast numbers of colonial peoples are caught at some midstage in the painful process of transition from a variety of ancient worlds into some approximation of modernity. It would be a simpler matter if entire peoples were being lifted en masse into a new way of life. Actually, in most instances a relatively small élite has moved far ahead, a more considerable segment has been pushed around, detribalized, and uprooted, and the mass of the people have remained embedded in the crumbling patterns of their traditional economy, social structure, and outlook.

COLONIALISM at its best has been a miserable instrument with which to lead these peoples from the old into the new. We must therefore face up to the question whether we have as yet devised any other practicable instrument which can be counted on to be an improvement on it. Mandates, trusteeships, and the meager provisions of Chapter XI of the Charter represent a helpful tinkering with the machinery and are perhaps the best we can do, but it is to be doubted that they measure up to the magnitude and difficulty of the task that still lies ahead.

Even under the best of international auspices government by alien superiors is a poor substitute for self-government, and the resentments bred by colonialism set a sharp limit to what can be taught by imposition from above. India, Ceylon, the Philippines, and other recently freed countries demonstrate that despite the fears of colonial administrators independence and self-government are manageable for peoples who have started on the road into the modern world. The Gold Coast is the next in line; Tunisia and Morocco cannot be far behind, whether their destination turns out to be full independence or voluntary and amicable association with France.

It would be possible to have a worse motto for the era of the cold war than make the free world free.

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ROLE OF THE U. N.

Tightening the Brakes . . *by Fenner Brockway*

London

THE progressive revolution of this century is the emergence of the Asian, African, and Caribbean peoples to equality with the peoples of Europe and America. Any international authority which really reflects world tendencies would consider intensively the problems which arise from this dynamic change. The Charter of the United Nations, however, only allows for a very limited consideration of these issues.

The Trusteeship Council requires reports from the administering authorities on the social, economic, and political advance of peoples in the trust territories. It permits sections of these people to submit petitions on grievances and to be represented at sittings of the council when these grievances are considered. This is of very real value. The fact that the trust territory of Tanganyika is the most advanced politically in East Africa in its recognition of racial equality is a tribute to the influence of the United Nations. The conditions in Kenya and, until recently, Uganda indicate the difference between a British colony and a British trust territory.

The United Nations can also intervene in colonial affairs when one of the delegates urges that conditions in a colony are "a danger to peace and security." The racial conflicts in Morocco, Tunisia, and South Africa have been brought before the U. N. under this provision, though they have not got very far owing to the opposition of Britain and other imperial powers in Europe.

A third sphere in which the United Nations can act is that of disputed territory. Such a dispute arose recently between the Netherlands government and the government of Indonesia regarding West New Guinea (West Irian). But again the opposition of the imperial powers blocked the proposal that negotiations should be resumed.

The nationalist movements in most colonies demand that the U. N. should extend the scope of its intervention. It is remarkable how the leaders of the mass organizations accept the idea of allegiance to an international authority. They object to the administration of their territories by one power or by a group of powers, but they accept the principle that when their political freedom is gained they should recognize their obligations to a genuine world confederation. They would like to see the duty laid upon every occupying power of a non-self-governing territory to report annually to the Trusteeship Council just as the trustee powers must do. At present the occupying powers are requested to report on social and economic progress but not on political progress. This is one of the amendments which should be made to the Charter.

The leaders of nationalist movements would also like to see established the right of dependent peoples to bring before the U. N. repudiations of the Declaration of Human Rights. This document has been accepted by the member states and is generally applied within the metropolitan territories. It is not applied, however, in colonial territories. When recently I introduced a bill in the House of Commons to extend the Declaration to British colonial territories, I found that it was necessary to include over sixty clauses in order to cover all the failures of the British government to implement its undertakings regarding human rights to its overseas possessions. The most outrageous denial of the Declaration is the power given to governors to deport citizens without any judicial process. The Kabaka of Buganda and Chief Seretse Khama were victims of this power, but less well-known persons are constantly deported.

I need not stress the desirability of intervention by the U. N. whenever there is a dispute between member states regarding dependent territories. This ought not to be a matter of doubt. The case of West New Guinea is symbolical.

THE functions of the U. N. ought, however, to be extended much farther. The Charter lays down the broad principle that administering powers should progressively further social, economic, and political freedom. We have now reached a stage where this principle must be applied in a more concrete manner if the demands of colonial peoples are to be satisfied. They are tired of vague phrases. They require that the occupying powers should come to an agreement with them regarding the character and the time-table of advance. The functions of the U. N. should be extended to require definite plans, agreed on with the representatives of the peoples, for their progress in all spheres, with a stated target date for the attainment of self-government.

There is another sphere in which the U. N. should intervene. Many of the present frontiers in the colonies are arbitrary and artificial. They were fixed by the colonial powers according to conquest, without consideration of racial and geographical conditions. Divided Morocco, Togoland, and the Cameroons are examples. The U. N. should have the power to insist that frontiers shall be redrawn according to the will of the peoples.

The right of the imperial powers to use the inhabitants of colonial territories for military purposes should also be limited. Great bitterness is caused when the British and French governments use African troops in the suppression of revolts in their Asian territories. It is not difficult to enrol colonial troops, since the physical conditions in the armed forces are so much better than those attainable by agricultural and industrial workers in civilian life. The real answer, of course, is to lift the standard of life of the colonial peoples. But the U. N.

FENNER BROCKWAY, Labor M. P., is chairman of the Congress of Peoples Against Imperialism, which includes all major non-Communist democratic movements.

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should insist that the natives of a territory will not be required to serve abroad and will certainly not be conscripted for this purpose without the consent of their representatives.

Finally, the U. N. should begin a world crusade against poverty, disease, and illiteracy. It should be a matter of shame to the citizens of Britain and America that proposals along this line were recently rejected by the Assembly on the ground that the amounts spent on defense prevent the nations from meeting this crying need. In Britain we are spending ten pounds on defense for every pound we spend on world betterment. Quite apart from the fundamental claim of humanity, it should be realized that the spread of totalitarianism in the world is more likely to be effected through hunger than through arms.

If the U. N. is to reflect the forces at work in the world which will determine the issues of war or peace and of human degradation or happiness, its Charter must be revised to express these claims of liberty, justice, and equality.

AMERICAN POLICY

The Status Quo . . . *by William Bross Lloyd, Jr.*

THE first official application of the mandate or trusteeship concept is generally credited to the efforts of President Woodrow Wilson, but American leadership in this field is now a casualty of the cold war. The United States has been glad to associate indigenous peoples with its delegations to the U. N. Trusteeship Council, and to provide scholarships for the youth of trust territories. It even facilitated the trip of the Marshall Island leader last summer to make his protest regarding the H-bomb. Undoubtedly American delegates and members of visiting missions prod Western European representatives in private. But on some fundamental Charter questions American policy is rigidly to maintain the status quo.

Asian and Middle Eastern nations, interpreting the Charter liberally, have sought to strengthen the measures of international supervision in Chapter XII, on trust territories, and the embryonic concepts of international responsibility toward remaining colonial peoples in Chapter XI, on non-self-governing territories. Colonial powers have claimed that although Paragraph 73(e) requires them to transmit information on their colonies, the U. N. may not discuss this information. They have battled to prevent the permanent establishment of the General Assembly's Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories. In this effort they have had the support of the American State Department.

The U. N. Charter on Colonies and Trusteeships

Chapter XI of the U. N. Charter lays upon colonial powers which are members of the U. N. the responsibility for the "just treatment" of indigenous peoples and for the development of self-government "according to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and their varying stages of advancement." Paragraph 73 (e) of the chapter requires colonial powers "to transmit regularly to the Secretary General for information purposes . . . statistical and other information of a technical nature relating to economic, social, and educational conditions in the territories for which they are respectively responsible."

Chapter XII lays down the "basic objectives" of the international trusteeship system, chief among them being "(a) to further international peace and security" and "(b) to promote the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the trust territories, and their progressive development toward self-government or independence as may be appropriate to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned."

A more important question is: Who shall decide when a non-self-governing territory has achieved full self-government and is to be removed from the operation of the principle of international responsibility? The General Assembly claims authority to make this decision, but Britain in regard to Malta, France in regard to Guadeloupe and Martinique, and the Netherlands in regard to Surinam and the Dutch Antilles have ceased transmitting information when in their judgment new constitutions for these territories have established self-government.

The United States, with some ameliorative variations, has used this unilateral approach in regard to Puerto Rico. It also teamed up with Soviet Russia to oppose a resolution authorizing the General Assembly to make the decision and another specifying the factors that the Assembly should take into account. The official line is that giving the Assembly authority to determine when self-government was attained would permit the United Nations to regulate relations between the United States and Hawaii and Alaska. Since in fact the General Assembly seeks authority to determine, *for U. N. purposes only,* when an established U. N. obligation should cease, and since this involves merely the transmission of the information—in which the United States has been exceeding its duty anyway—it is hard to see the "threat" to United States sovereignty. On the other hand, this obligation acts through moral pressure to protect the inhabitants of territories ruled by the colonial powers, and weakening it may negate the whole principle of international responsibility.

The traditional American opposition to colonialism has also been weak in re-

WILLIAM BROSS LLOYD, JR., is editor of Toward Freedom, *a newsletter on colonial affairs published in Chicago.*

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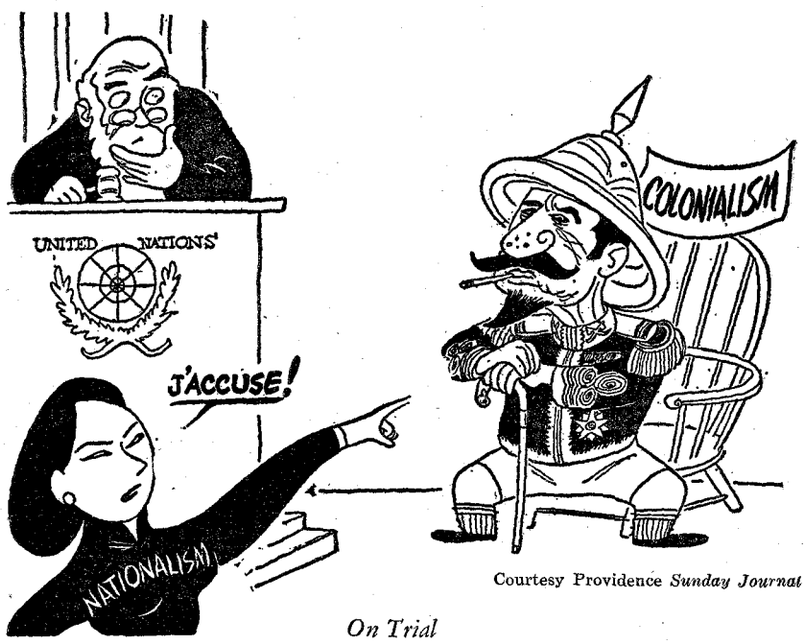
gard to the United States' own dependent areas. It was not until the days of Roosevelt's New Deal that the McDuffie-Tydings Act of 1934 promising Philippine independence was passed. Puerto Rico continued in the strait-jacket of the March 2, 1917, Organic Act.

WITH the outbreak of World War II in 1939, President Roosevelt recognized the importance of convincing the American people that the war was a worldwide crusade for freedom. With some difficulty, it is reported, he persuaded Prime Minister Churchill to agree, in the Atlantic Charter of August 14, 1941, that their countries "respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live, and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them." But in this case as in so many others, deeds counted for more than words. Future historians may find the 1946 decision of the United States to free the Philippines on schedule more important than the American ideas which found their way into the trusteeship sections of the Charter. Standing firmly by the nation's pledge in spite of the dislocation of war, the American delegation at San Francisco declared in connection with the Philippines: "[The United States] looks forward to the time when many other now dependent peoples may achieve the same goal."

Puerto Rico, however, was not slated to achieve that goal. Largely because the probable economic dislocations of both independence and statehood were considered too great, Puerto Rico was offered an associated role as a commonwealth. In spite of the island's encouraging economic progress under Governor Muños Marin this status can hardly be said to embody complete self-government. Military conscription and many other United States laws are enforced on the island, though the people have no vote in their enactment. This is not self-government by American standards, and until a serious movement is launched to give Puerto Rico voting representation in Congress, to make United States laws subject to local approval, or to set up a time-table for independence, the situation must be considered a danger to American as well as Puerto Rican freedom.



Courtesy Providence *Sunday Journal*

On Trial

The reference to independence for other peoples made by the American delegation at San Francisco was soon tested in Asian areas adjoining the Philippines. On Indonesia, Washington's policy was direct and courageous. First of all it was clearly a U. N.-channeled policy; secondly, it contemplated ultimate independence as a distinct possibility; and thirdly, it was concerned to end a destructive civil war as soon as possible. When requested to join the U. N. Mediation Commission by governments friendly to one or the other of the belligerents, the United States concentrated its attention on the restoration of peace. The navy transport Renville was used as a neutral meeting ground for the final negotiations, but this was as close as the U. N. came to a show of force in the entire Indonesian crisis.

In Indo-China, on the other hand, Mr. Truman's State Department threw its support to the French-sponsored playboy emperor, Bao Dai, without even exploring—publicly, at least—the possibility of United Nations mediation. The Indo-China problem was more difficult than that of Indonesia because Ho Chi Minh was Communist-trained, whereas the Indonesian rebels were anti-Communist. But the Vietnam people on both sides were war-weary, and the presence of an independent U. N. commission negotiating peace and independence would have ruined one of Ho's most powerful recruiting lures—his resolve to oust the French. Negotiations with him, at an early stage and under U. N. auspices, would have left the Western moral and political position in far better shape than it now is.

A resolution requesting the President to bring the Indo-China conflict before the United Nations was introduced by Senator Guy M. Gillette (D., Iowa) on April 20 last year, when active American involvement was being considered seriously. This resolution was given the silent treatment by the State Department and most of the American press. When questioned by a newsman about the possibility of U. N. action, Secretary Dulles indicated that he did not want the subject discussed.

THE problems of few African countries, aside from the trust territories, French North Africa, and the Union of South Africa, reach the United Nations, where they must be introduced if they are to involve United States policy openly. Some straws in the wind are definitely anti-African—the restriction of the Reverend Michael Scott, spokesman at the U. N. for the Herrero tribe of Southwest Africa, to the island of Manhattan by action of the State Department, and the department's refusal of a passport to George Shepherd, formerly manager of an African farmers' cooperative marketing organization in Uganda.

On the other hand, President Eisenhower's special envoy to the Rhodes centennial celebration in Rhodesia, William H. Ball, took care to use the words "multi-racial society"—a key phrase for liberals in the Rhodesias—to describe

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the United States, and emphasized America's respect for the individual, "regardless of race, color, or creed."

In regard to North Africa, the State Department violated American tradition and our consistent policy in the U. N. up to that time by voting against even the discussion of Morocco and Tunisia in the 1951 General Assembly. Instead, our delegation favored "direct negotiations." These turned out to mean a series of demands by French authorities that the Tunisians accept their brand of "reforms." When the government of M. Chenik refused, he was ousted and his major Cabinet members clapped in jail.

Asian and Middle Eastern nations moved to bring the Tunisian situation before the Security Council in April, 1952, and leading newspaper corespondents reported that the American delegation privately favored the move. A few months later a poll of the American Association for the United Nations, hardly an isolationist or anti-French sample, showed 65 per cent in favor of more energetic U. N. action against colonialism.

But the State Department, defying the judgment of representatives on the spot and the inclinations of the American people, decreed an abstention, which owing to the influence of our vote was tantamount to ruling out any discussion. Chief Delegate Ernest R. Gross took care to mention at the beginning and the end of his address that he had been instructed to abstain.

The State Department opposed a special session of the General Assembly that summer on the subject, and on December 12, 1952, voted against a U. N. Good Offices Commission to aid negotiations. The American public had been warned that a United States vote for any resolution that might embarrass France would endanger the Pinay government. Eleven days after the United States had sacrificed principle to expediency, the government fell anyway.

The U. N.'s continued failure to act has discouraged Moroccan and Tunisian nationalists seeking their ends through orderly process and has fortified those urging violence as the only way to freedom. The 1954 wave of unrest in the two protectorates is a logical if deplorable consequence. For this development, United States policy in the U. N. bears a heavy responsibility.

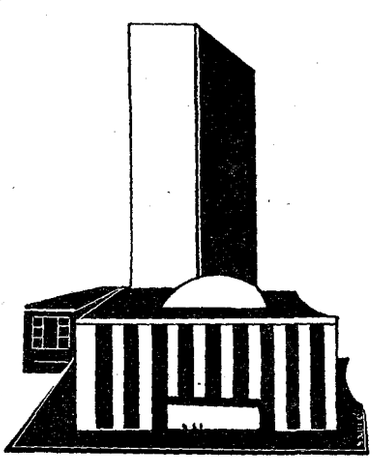
Viewing matters in the perspective of history, this is not the first time that the United States has faced a hard choice in regard to colonialism. In 1823, when many South American countries had just won their independence, there was danger that the freedom of the American republics would be made the subject of diplomatic bargaining. The United States response in 1823 was the Monroe Doctrine, which flatly declared our fixed opposition to the restoration of *any* European colonialism in this hemisphere. Instead of cynically forgetting the 1941 Atlantic Charter, why does not the United States attempt to embody its ideal of self-determination in a modern adaptation of the Monroe Doctrine and announce certain fixed principles that will guide its policy?

IN THE modern setting one principle worth establishing is that there should be a definite time-table for the achievement of self-government or independence by each colonial area, according to its particular circumstances. The U. N. has already officially called on administering powers to estimate when each trust territory will become ready for self-government, but the British, French, and Belgians have either ignored or laughed at this resolution. Yet announcement of a time-table proved eminently successful in the case of the Philippines, Indonesia, and Libya. It can be as important to colonial peoples as the date on a promissory note is to a banker. The administering powers' open commitment to the principle of self-determination can release a powerful social dynamism which will bring indigenous peoples and administering authorities into a team pulling together for the rapid betterment of the country. If the United States firmly held to this principle for all colonies —the British Labor Party has already indorsed it—it would be taken a good deal more seriously by West European governments. A new United States doctrine on colonies might also include a strong indorsement of U. N. competence to undertake conciliation and mediation in situations like Indo-China early enough to keep communism from gaining a strangle-hold on nationalist movements.

The danger of the new Communist colonialism which swept over Eastern Europe while some 600,000,000 people in India, Burma, Ceylon, Pakistan, and Indonesia were being freed of Western colonialism has been adequately recognized by the American press. Unfortunately it is too often implied that the only way to combat this danger is to accept the views of the European colonial powers. Of those who recognize the need for a really independent American policy, many fail to see that this policy must be worked out through the United Nations if colonialists and Communists alike are not to label it—and with some justification—as a new, self-righteous form of American economic imperialism.

Those who maintain that we must guard against communism by helping the colonial powers to clutch their possessions more tightly are like the old grandmother who cautioned a young man just entering aviation to "be sure not to fly too high or too fast." Just as speed is the airman's safeguard against a stall and crash, so rapid progress in granting self-government or independence will enable the democratic statesmen to ward off political unrest, with ensuing violence and Communist penetration.

Faced with the Communist world challenge, the most essential move of the West is to clean up conditions on its own doorstep. Colonial administrations accustomed to bearing the white man's burden over the centuries are too susceptible to the pressure of European settlers and cannot be counted on for the flexibility necessary to implement freedom in time. The least that we can contribute is an open, consistent policy insulated from diplomatic horse-trading and driven home by a steady succession of deeds—the march of free new nations into full U. N. membership.



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TRUSTEESHIP SYSTEM

How It Operates . . *by John V. Murra*

TO SAY that a U. N. trust territory is only a species of the genus colony is true; but it is not more than a three-quarters truth. At times the old colonialism does seem the decisive ingredient; yet one need only catch a session when live petitioners from some actual trust territory address the twelve-nation Trusteeship Council or the sixty members of the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly to see that something quite uncolonial and very new is emerging.

A country gets to be a trust territory almost by accident. At Versailles and at San Francisco a new administrative formula was sought for the colonies which Germany in 1919 and Japan and Italy in 1945 were giving up to the victors. Thus the mandate system of the League of Nations and the trusteeship setup of the U. N. were born. The procedure by which some 21,000,000 inhabitants spread over more than 900,000 square miles have come within the scope of trusteeship is accidental in the sense that these countries are no less "advanced" than their neighbors. Moreover, no power has yet placed any of its own colonial possessions under the trusteeship system, although Article 77 of the Charter foresees such a possibility.

Nor are the trust territories administered by a separate civil service; an Australian tax collector or public-works man will be routinely transferred from Papua, which is a colony, to the trust territory of New Guinea, which is held in trust for the U. N. A *juge d'instruction* in Dahomey, which the French conquered in the 1890's, will also hear cases from neighboring Togo, which they acquired from the Germans in 1914 and have held in trust for the United Nations since 1946. The administrators are nationals of the trustee country, though at lower echelons one often finds African officials. None of the territories are actually administered by the United Nations and only Italian Somaliland has a tiny resident U. N. secretariat to report directly to headquarters. Administratively speaking, the colonial flavor is still very strong.

Yet it would be a mistake to overstress this survival. The inhabitants of trust territories can present their petitions beyond the local administration and the government to which it is responsible, as virtually no people in colonies can do. Matters frivolous or vital are being brought constantly to the attention of U. N. bodies in New York. The men of Bukoba in Tanganyika declare that the work opportunities provided their wives by the new cash economy make the ladies harder to control. Farmers complain that their traditional land holdings are threatened by the growth of plantations. In 1954 the protest of the Marshall Islanders, in the United States trust territory of the Pacific, against the effects of atom-bomb experiments forced its way to the front pages of the newspapers. When these petitioners, who may be the first generation of literates in their nation, speak in the hushed conference rooms, one hears and sees the United Nations at its most exciting and hopeful.

IN 1952 a young "dispenser" from Tanganyika, K. Japhet, appeared before the Trusteeship Council to plead the case of his people, the waMeru. The waMeru had lived since time immemorial on the cool higher slopes of Meru Mountain, which have always been good grazing country and in modern times have shown potentialities for coffee growing—the kind of place which in colonies like Kenya becomes the "white highlands." Before 1914 the Germans had alienated parts of the Meru countryside. Today Europeans cannot buy land in Tanganyika. Because it is a trust territory the British government promised the U. N. in 1946 that "no real rights over native land . . . in favor of non-natives can be created." Leases are held to 99 years. In neighboring Kenya, a colony, leases are for 999 years.

After Versailles a few hundred waMeru families purchased on the instalment plan a number of German-owned farms; in time close to 3,000 people lived here on 78,000 acres. But in 1949 and again in 1951 they were notified that their lands were needed for a "resettlement scheme"; their farms were part of a highland area undergoing agricultural "development" on a vast scale. In compensation they were offered a much larger tract of land, not too far away. When they refused to move, they were evicted, their huts burned, their possessions piled on lorries by soldiers.

Mr. Japhet spoke in kiSwahili, the lingua franca of East Africa. His West Indian lawyer translated for him. The facts of alienation are commonplace in East, Central, and South Africa; hundreds of thousands of square miles of African land from the sources of the Nile to Capetown have been alienated over the last seventy-five years. What was new was the opportunity provided by the trusteeship system to submit the matter to an international forum, and thus to the conscience of man.

Mr. Japhet made a moving and skilful address. "We know," he said, "that the government has power and can do as it pleases. But we feel bitterness because this country of Meru was given us by God. If it is necessary that we should be removed by force, then we will go, but with tears in our eyes and looking backward. Compensation or lorries to assist us we do not want, nor do we want to be exempted from paying taxes for a year. . . . If you want the Meru country it is better for you to finish off the waMeru and take your stand upon their blood." He then gave detailed lists of donkeys lost, chickens left to die in the bush, storehouses burned, and people arrested and fined. At one point he

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JOHN V. MURRA, formerly economic-affairs officer and Africa area specialist with the Trusteeship Division of the United Nations, is now teaching in the Department of Economics, Sociology, and Anthropology at Vassar College.

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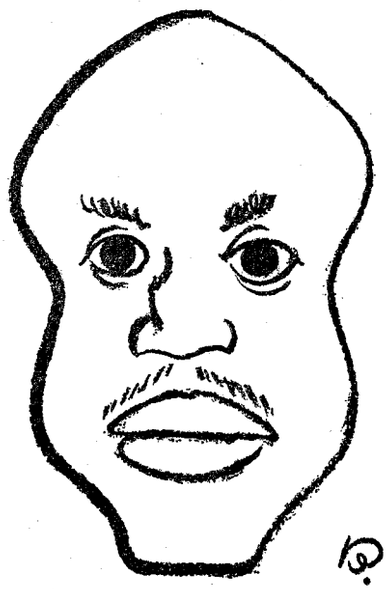
interrupted his statement to ask the president of the council: "Who is ultimately in control or in charge in Tanganyika?" The president asked why he wanted to know. "Because we have heard that Tanganyika is under the U. N." The president, an Iraqi, explained that the actual administration had been assigned by the U. N. to the British government. If this was so, Japhet insisted, why did not the government wait until the U. N. had given its opinion of the waMeru petition? There was no answer to this.

Afterward the council adopted a resolution expressing regret over the forcible methods of the eviction and recommending that in the future the consent of the Africans who had to be moved should be obtained. Unsatisfied, the waMeru appealed the case. The Trusteeship Council has twelve member nations, of which only six have no colonies; of these, two are great powers—Russia and China—and the others, small or formerly colonial nations. All the member nations, however, are represented on the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly, which heard the waMeru appeal.

In December, 1952, Kirilo Japhet appeared again before the U. N., this time with sixty diplomats, their advisers, interpreters, and hangers-on watching. He still spoke in kiSwahili—by 1953 he addressed the committee in English—and repeated his plea. For several days afterward he submitted to cross-examination by friend and foe, answering patiently and with great dignity. The Fourth



Kirolo Japhet

Committee then recommended, thirty-one to seventeen, that the administering authority be invited "to return immediately the lands from which [the waMeru] were expelled, and to compensate them for all property destroyed." It also recommended that adequate measures be taken "to educate and train the waMeru tribe in modern methods of agriculture and cattle ranching."

When this resolution came up before the plenary session, the General Assembly heard a warning from Britain, speaking with the voice of the past: "We are under no obligation to obey the resolutions passed by the Assembly. . . . I state quite frankly that we cannot accept this draft resolution, and if it is passed, it will not be implemented." Three votes shifted, but twenty-eight nations still insisted that the waMeru be reinstated; twenty, including the United States, voted against. This was short of the two-thirds' majority needed for an "operative" resolution. Actually, a colonial power can refuse to honor a U. N. resolution even if it is passed by a two-thirds' majority. The Union of South Africa has successfully resisted all resolutions of the U. N. and of the International Court at The Hague requesting that Southwest Africa, a former German possession, be returned to the U. N. Dr. Malan has coolly annexed the territory.

Earlier this year the waMeru were visited by the regular U. N. mission which every third year goes to each of the trust territories for a few weeks to listen to petitions and verify the extent to which the administering authority promotes "the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of the trust territories and their progressive development toward self-government or independence," as it must under Article 76 of the Charter. The report of the 1954 visiting mission is not available at this writing, but it is known that the waMeru have refused to occupy the land offered them in compensation: although not far away, it is hot, dry, and infested with tsetse flies; one can neither grow coffee there nor keep cattle. They still hope for justice from the U. N. and recently have organized a producer cooperative and hired two American technicians to help them run it.

The waMeru case affects directly only a few thousand people, and were it a simple eviction-for-the-public-good kind

Kimla A. Ghedemah

of case it would normally come up in a local court under the law of eminent domain. By occurring in the highlands of East Africa, where the various European governments and their courts are committed to a policy of permanent European settlement, it becomes a matter of alienation of African land, hence a colonial issue and beyond the effective competence of the local courts. By occurring in a trust territory this minor case becomes of international interest. In such colonies as the Congo, Kenya, Madagascar, and the Rhodesias much graver instances of alienation have taken place, as evidenced by Mau Mau reaction and terrorism, but these are beyond the reach of the United Nations; they are "internal affairs."

ELSEWHERE in Africa there are no permanent European settlements. Climate, the insects, and prospects of an early grave have combined to keep settlers out of West Africa, an area with over half the Black Continent's population. The western Sudan and the Guinea Coast were conquered and partitioned by Europeans only at the turn of the century. In the process, meaningless frontiers were traced on the drawing-boards of German, French, and British chancelleries, creating territories which had no linguistic, political, or cultural reality. When the ex-German territories of Togo and Cameroon were made U. N. trust territories, the grievances of their partitioned peoples became a matter for U. N. consideration.

The Ewe, over a million strong, were

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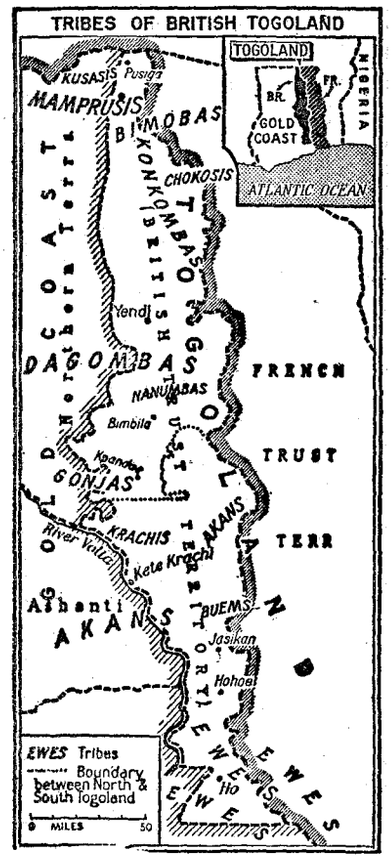
partitioned three ways and in consequence have suffered endless economic, social, and religious difficulties. Since the late thirties they have been agitating for reunification. When the Trusteeship Council was established, theirs was the first case challenging the colonial frontiers in Africa to receive serious consideration. Since 1947 the Ewe petition has annually reappeared on the agenda, ably argued by Sylvanus Olympio, formerly president of the Legislative Assembly, the Chamber of Commerce, and a Lever Brothers subsidiary in French Togo.*

The most interesting situation in the history of the trusteeship system arose in 1954. German Togo, a narrow north-to-south strip sandwiched between the French colony of Dahomey and the British Gold Coast, was inhabited by various peoples who like the Ewe on the coast had the bulk of their relatives in other territories. After Versailles partition was compounded, France and Britain each getting slivers of Togoland, and these became trust territories in 1946. Last year Britain notified the General Assembly that the neighboring Gold Coast was to achieve self-government in a year or two. But what of Togo next door? Britain is ready to give up its trust; the Togolese are as "ready" as the Gold Coasters; the two could easily be joined in a greater Ghana, as the country will be called once the European place names are erased. What happens then to the French strip? Nothing, says France; we carry on with the status quo.

CONFRONTED with the unilateral offer of the British, what should the United Nations do? The answer is conditioned by many groups of factors—African and European, ethnic and economic, personal and international. While the waMeru case would belong in a local court were it not for the colonizing policy pursued by the administering authority, the Togo situation is a true United Nations case. Continuing tension and even war might once have resulted; today the sixty nations sit in council trying to unravel as tangled a knot as Danzig and Trieste ever were.

With the administering authorities taking a back seat, two African groups have met head on before the General Assembly. Both are led by skilled politicians and experienced debaters. Sylvanus Olympio, who once spoke for Ewe unification, is back, arguing for the unification of the two Togos. There should be no unilateral repudiation of the trusteeship agreements, he maintains; France and Britain should terminate their tutelage at the same time, to permit the emergence of a unified Togo state. The United Nations should then step in and administer the country without intermediaries for a transitional period of five years, after which Togo would be declared an independent country. When I asked Mr. Olympio if even such a unified Togo could function effectively, he replied that once the country was independent, it could federate with any other emergent West African nation. Olympio's views are supported by S. G. Antor, a member for British Togo of the Gold Coast legislature, who hopes that a unified Togo would permit the separate marketing of the territory's chief cash product, cocoa. Antor feels that British Togoland's economic contribution to the Gold Coast could finance its own independence. There is also apprehension lest the "annexation" of British Togoland by the Gold Coast mean the indefinite postponement of independence for French Togo.



The opposite view was presented by the Gold Coast Minister of Education, Allasani, another legislator from British Togoland. Dressed in the colorful robes of his people and backed by several tribal representatives, he declared that the original German-drawn frontier between the Gold Coast and northern Togo had threatened the unity of the Dagomba and Mamprussi peoples. They wanted unity with their ethnic and linguistic kin in the Gold Coast; they had no such affinity to the people on the French side.

Backing these petitioners, and speaking, interestingly enough, for the United Kingdom delegation, was K. A. Ghedemah, the Finance Minister of the Gold Coast, best known as the organizational dynamo of the Convention Peoples' Party, now in power in the Gold Coast. A former teacher and timber merchant, Ghedemah, an Ewe, was widely credited with keeping the party together when the present Prime Minister, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, went to jail in 1950. Since their overwhelming electoral victory in 1951, Nkrumah and Ghedemah have been the dominant figures in the first all-African Cabinet in British Africa.

IN AN interview granted to *The Nation,* Mr. Ghedemah argued for the integration of British Togoland with the Gold Coast. There were ethnic, economic, and political reasons, he said, why the first trust territory to emerge from dependent status should join the first self-governing African dominion. The partition of the northern tribes would be ended forever. As for the Ewe, his own people, in the south, integration would bring a majority of them under the Gold Coast flag, where they would enjoy administrative autonomy. The Ewe remaining on the French side were a problem, he admitted. They would have to fight for independence as those in the Gold Coast had fought. The presence of a self-governing Gold Coast to the west was bound to help, not retard, their efforts. As for Antor's economic argument, it ignored the fact that cocoa revenues were the only source of capital to finance the needed technological advance. Offering to pay full market prices for Togo cocoa was demagogy; it would bring ruinous inflation while neglecting development. Integration with the Gold Coast was the best solution; what is more, it was the solution

*See his article in *The Nation* for December 26, 1953.

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preferred by the people of British Togo. Let there be a plebiscite to confirm or deny this.

Olympio and Antor would consent to a plebiscite only if it took place in both trust territories. They demanded the implementation of a 1953 resolution of the Assembly urging the establishment of an elective Joint Togoland Council. In their view the voters should be offered a chance to choose a united Togo under direct U. N. administration. Before the U. N. decides it may send a mission to ascertain the wishes of the Togolese.

Here is a real twentieth-century problem. The demand for ethnic self-determination, the end of colonial rule, the economics of development are ingredients in the Togo controversy as in all West African affairs. Nations are being born there, as in Asia, that "no one" ever heard of. True enough, the trusteeship system has not been in their case the operative agency. The Gold Coast and Nigeria, the first countries to approach self-government, are colonies, not trust territories. The temper of their peoples, the absence of European settlers, the realities of Britain's current needs have been more important in enabling them to achieve their present status. The trust territories of West Africa benefit from this. Their special contribution has consisted in dramatizing before the U. N. the anomaly, for our time, of completely disregarding the ethnic factor in drawing African boundaries. Elsewhere in Africa settlers and strategic mining have so far prevented any comparable developments. Here the trusteeship system plays the very special role of bringing to the attention of the world the problems of a still submerged population.

Africa: Last Stronghold

by M. O. M. Maduagwu

Ibadan, Nigeria

AFRICA'S problem is the problem of man's inhumanity to man—the problem of how its enslaved millions can be released from European colonialism. Only three of the thirty-five African countries —Liberia, Egypt, and Abyssinia—are entirely free and self-governing. The rest are colonies, split-trust territories, protectorates, or in some way "belong" to European nations.

But the African giant is now awakening from his slumber. When the people began to rebel against the denial of their rights of free movement and speech and participation in the government, they made peaceful demands for freedom. But their self-appointed masters, instead of giving heed to their request, labeled those making it "agitators," "leftist nationalists," and more recently "Communist-goaded terrorists." Even more oppressive laws were enacted to safeguard the interests of the "master" race.

Hopes were raised in Africa when Roosevelt and Churchill, on August 14, 1941, signed the Atlantic Charter, the third clause of which stated that the United States and Great Britain "respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them." On the strength of this, we in Africa contributed our man-power and our resources to the cause of winning the war. We thought the end of the war would mark the end of colonialism and imperialism in Africa as well as in the rest of the world. But when the war was over, we found we were still denied the right to determine what government was suitable for us. Under these circumstances could Africans be expected to remain silent? We knew our demands were just. We saw no reason why we should be punished for urging them.

Unrest has been constantly on the increase—the Mau Mau in Kenya, political agitation in Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia, disturbances and boycotts in Uganda, uprising in Madagascar put down by a bloody massacre. Always people are being killed somewhere; the strength of our manhood is being sapped. We do not like violence and revolution. We do not want continuing political crises. But all those things are an inevitable part of the present struggle for freedom in Africa.

Colonialism is evil. Not liking evil, we do not choose to remain colonials forever and be forever exploited, overtly or covertly. We want liberty. Count Leo Tolstoy wrote: "I sit on a man's back, choking him and making him carry me and yet assure myself and others that I am very sorry for him and wish to ease his lot by all possible means—except by getting off his back." What a fitting description of the relationship between the peoples of Africa and Europe!

At long last Britain has been forced to modify its policy of "what we have we hold," at least in its West African colonies. Under the leadership of Dr. Kwame Nkruma, the Gold Coast is well on the way to freedom. In Nigeria, led by such men as Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, Chief Obafemi Awolowo, and the Saduna of Sokoto, we have obtained internal self-rule. During the past three years, since our own men have been in office, Nigeria has made tremendous progress in education, rural and urban development, and other fields. We are now working toward achieving complete self-government.

We regret, however, that our brothers in East Africa, South Africa, and West and North Africa, are still chafing under alien rule. And we wish that Dr. Malan's successor, Mr. Strijdom, would renounce the *apartheid* policy of the Union of South Africa. Then there might be peace in this continent.

M. O. M. MADUAGWU, a tutor in mathematics at the Merchants of Light College in Nigeria, is a leader in the Nigerian independence movement.

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BOOKS

Mao's Problems and Prospects

THE PROSPECTS FOR COMMUNIST CHINA. By W. W. Rostow. Technology Press of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and John Wiley and Sons. $5.

By Edgar Snow

TO PROVIDE, in a single volume, satisfactory explanations of such matters as the "operative motivations of the Chinese Communist regime," its current intentions toward Asian and world society, the main problems confronting it, the likelihood of its success or failure in solving those problems, and "the prospects for change in Communist society over the foreseeable future" is a formidable task. Dr. W. W. Rostow and his associates in the Center for International Studies, M. I. T.—Richard W. Hatch, Frank A. Kierman, Jr., and Alexander Eckstein—have accomplished it with highly creditable results. Their book is an excellent product of selection, evaluation, organization, and synthesis of significant materials, covering the genesis and growth of Chinese communism, the nature of the regime and its relations with the people and their past, China's economic foundations and present goals, and the interdependence and current and potential rivalries between Moscow and Peking.

The Communists have now entered a period of "bitter struggle" for rapid economic development—comparable to the post-N. E. P. years in Russia—and the authors closely examine their chances of success. "As of 1953 the regime felt that its domestic power machine was fully consolidated." Its leadership, determined to have an "independent industrial base," appears intent also on increasing "the degree of Chinese independence and authority" within the Sino-Soviet alliance. Whereas at first the victorious Communists were inclined "to press on in all directions," reverses and difficulties arising out of Korean and other expansionist moves had, by 1952, brought about a "new emphasis" on production tasks, "partly at the expense of internal and external power goals." The "general line" today is one of "transition to socialism" and is based on the first Five-Year Plan, which was put into effect in 1953. Mao hopes thereby to "duplicate in China the results achieved by Stalin in the 1930's."

Notice is taken of the organizational accomplishments of the Communists in all branches of Chinese life—from the growth of mass literacy and technological training to an industrial effort "enormous by past standards." But it is "surmised" that the "upshot of Communist agricultural policy has been a downward leveling of individual family incomes." And although "the worker lives in the midst of the most rapidly expanding segment of Chinese Communist society," his "probable mood" is one of "fatigue." For this reason, even if for no other, he is "certainly not likely to detonate a revolt."

There is "almost no direct evidence of dissatisfaction or instability in the top levels of leadership," but the authors discern weaknesses and tensions in the bureaucracy. The first is uncertainty or a sense of insecurity; the second is suspicion or fear; the third is the resentment aroused by promotions of technically qualified "cadres" over the heads of party veterans. Such vague bureaucratic unrest might become critical under a combination of circumstances which are described as a sudden change in top leadership, a sharp fall in the natural death rate, a disproportionate rise in urban population, an adverse productivity reaction of the peasantry to collectivization, a relative neglect of agricultural needs in favor of industry, and a succession of bad harvest years.

Unity, order, cleaner streets, more public health, reasonably honest tax collection, a relatively high level of investment, enlightened laws on the statute books governing the position of women, tasks for the unemployed and rootless intellectuals, a decrease in illiteracy—all these are placed on the positive side. An increased reliance on force and fear, enlarged forced-labor camps, a lying propaganda, a wastage of resources to maintain instruments of control, a swollen army, an aggressive foreign policy, brainwashing for the intellectual, an exploited peasantry, a loss of individual freedom for all—these go on the negative side.

But such a balance sheet could be misleading, and to the authors the "central human fact" is the "attitude of the top leadership" toward the people. This latter they believe to be so hateful that it has largely "turned to ashes" whatever advantages the regime offers and makes life for most Chinese a thing of "fearful apathy."

CHINA'S relations with Russia are on a basis of near-equality as compared to those of Russia with Eastern Europe. But the Kremlin has some effective control over the Chinese party and the state. Foremost is Peking's dependence on Soviet military strength. Secondly, all China's economic development hinges on Soviet cooperation; there may be as many as 15,000 Russian advisers in China. They hold key positions in the economic and information field but have no direct political power.

It is stated that the Chinese regime is useful to the interests of Russian nationalism first of all as a means of diverting anti-Communist military resources. It helps to stabilize and enlarge Russian interests in Manchuria, Mongolia, and Sinkiang, enables Russia to bring pressure on Japan to leave the anti-Communist coalition, and serves generally as a bargaining pawn for Russia in its power politics. To Peking the alliance offers a way to maximize Chinese military strength, to increase Chinese power in Northeast Asia, to extend Chinese influence to the Southeast, to attain leadership or hegemony over all Asian Communist movements, and to achieve rapid industrialization by Soviet methods.

Threats to the permanence of the alliance are seen as possibly rising out of failure in the application of Soviet economic technique to China's problems, proof that the West can offer better terms of association, the devaluation of Soviet military strength through internal catastrophe or defeat in war, or an overextension of Russian political controls in China. The authors seem to think that these possibilities are remote rather than imminent.

EDGAR SNOW is the author of "Red Star Over China" and other books.

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Perhaps the most useful chapters in the book are those analyzing Chinese economy to date. Aims of the present Five-Year Plan are "an industrial complex in 1957-59 roughly on the scale of Russia in 1928," but with a base of four million tons of steel production; fully modernized armed forces "supplied increasingly from Chinese resources"; the "skipping" of an N. E. P. period and a movement directly toward early collectivization—with investment capital to be extracted largely from the product of peasant labor; and the training of great numbers of young technicians and administrators to handle the mushrooming economic and state apparatus.

Broadly speaking, "Communist China in 1952 was industrially nearer the position of Russia in the 1890's than that of the Soviet Union of 1928." Continuing the comparison:

> China's first Five-Year Plan is more heavily dependent on a maintained or expanded level of foreign trade; its ambitions demand an important allocation to military purposes which Stalin avoided in 1929; China faces a population growth and urbanization problem of unknown but potentially serious dimensions . . . much hinges on the course of agricultural output and, especially, on the peasants' productivity and response to the regime's collectivization measures. The Chinese Communist regime's problem is essentially more difficult than Stalin's and success is not assured.

Looking ahead, while "direct military aggression is not to be ruled out" it is evident that Peking intends to pursue its "ambitions for expansion" in ways which "minimize the risks of major war and which cost little in resources." Communist China's future stability depends "principally" on "four interconnected factors" which sum up as continued satisfactory Sino-Soviet relationships, continued rising prestige of China in its bid for Asian leadership, the achievement of industrialization without excessive starvation, and unity and cohesion in the party leadership.

Conceding the absence of any serious internal challenge to Peking's authority, the authors nevertheless conclude that "despite the unique powers the Communist regime exercises on the mainland, its fate rests substantially with the people of the Free World and their governments." They express the "conviction" that Chinese communism's "pretensions to political and ideological leadership in Asia" can be defeated. Their prescription for the task:

> An American policy prepared to join sympathetically in efforts to solve the great revolutionary problems of Asia, and an American people prepared to sustain such a policy: to sustain it not merely with guns and armed men, but also with capital and technique, with energy, and with a sense of human fellowship.

Despite the authors' liberal pronouncement of moral judgments against the subjects of their inquiry it is evident from the foregoing that their broad conclusions and interesting speculations are relatively free from wishful thinking and partisan bias. This is probably as objective a piece of intelligence work as is humanly possible in an era of scholarship dedicated to ideological warfare. Its limitations are doubtless due chiefly to the authors' lack of opportunity for first-hand observation of the people whom it judges—and of the complex emotions and psychological factors, past frustrations and present satisfactions, motivations of fear and hatred and ties of fellowship, which produced Chinese communism and now attract to its banners incomparably more active supporters than ever adhered to any previous regime. Some personal experience in living with the Chinese people in the past might have led the authors to modify the conclusion that the mood of "most" people at present can be described as "fearful apathy."

It is regrettable that so rich a book does not contain fuller documentation. Its utility as a reference work might also be enhanced by a more detailed index.

Asia in the Spotlight

THERE IS NO ASIA. By Dwight Cooke. Doubleday and Company. $4.

TOKYO AND POINTS EAST. By Keyes Beech. Doubleday and Company. $3.75.

By O. Edmund Clubb

TWO able newsmen, obviously scornful of the insidious warning that the area is "controversial," come up with two good field reports on Asia. CBS news analyst Dwight Cooke, for his part, skirted China and Soviet Asia to survey a dozen countries on the continent's rim. He found no universal pattern; "There is no Asia," but vast differences, ranked in between Magsaysay's effective administration in the Philippines and the "exceedingly precarious" situation in Indonesia. He describes a legion of diverse cultural traits.

But certain forces discovered in Indonesia, for example, seem to reflect political sentiments actually common to Asians generally. Cooke noted there the dominance of a strong emotion of anti-colonialism and a determination to fend off capitalism, which combine to frustrate both Occidental business men eager to provide Western "know-how" and Occidental strategists interested in erecting anti-Communist barricades. He met the same feeling among Burmese, who "would instantly choose native communism to foreign colonialism," and in India. The possible consequences of any American failure loom large: "If the 370,000,000 Indians ever join the 500,000,000 Chinese against the West, Asia is lost to the free world, and the United States will face the greatest danger in history." Nor does Cooke see salvation in Japan, which must export great quantities of manufactures to survive but now lacks the trade outlets. Can the United States detach China from the U. S. S. R., or will the Communists pry Japan away from the United States? The author discerns "ominous possibilities."

Cooke believes that Asians today see their choice, not between the United States and Russia, but between the ways of China and those of India: "The plain truth is that in most of Asia the only conceivable economic choice is communism or socialism." From the United States he would propose aid, but also patience and fortitude—"in a word, understanding."

Keyes Beech of the Chicago *Daily News* deftly picks up the ball in his more personalized "Tokyo and Points East." He tells how correspondents under SCAP's rule in Japan were subject to restraints that resulted in the American people's getting "an extravagantly optimistic picture of the occupation." He reports the political prostitu-

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O. EDMUND CLUBB, a retired American Foreign Service officer, spent twenty years in Far Eastern posts.

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tion of some Korean war dispatches. He characterizes the American pledge to Syngman Rhee of a billion dollars in economic aid to obtain the Korean armistice as "probably the biggest bribe ever paid."

There are many colorful episodes in Beech's book and much entertaining personalia—not least, of General MacArthur and Correspondent Marguerite Higgins. But when Beech examined the social problems of Asia, like Cooke he found the question of the people's food to be at the core. In a brief section he cogently sets forth his judgment that the United States began to lose Asia the day World War II was won. Then we stood ready to write off a billion Asians "because of our abysmal ignorance of their culture, their hopes, their aspirations." The Russians had a program prepared; but as the balance of history swung from West back to East, as "the slumbering four-fifths" of mankind began to waken, the best that democracy could think to offer Asians was "freedom" in the status quo—tantamount to freedom to starve. Says Beech, "You can't eat freedom"; and he concludes that "if we lose Asia it will be because we bucked a revolution instead of backing one."

What Cooke and Beech say is not always beyond challenge. But they beam light into dim recesses at a moment when reappraisal of our Asia policy is being demanded and a vast economic program is under study. Coming at a critical juncture, their readable books are informative and provocative of re-thinking and make good political sense. They are most timely.

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An African Autobiography

THE DARK CHILD. By Camara Laye. Translated by James Kirkup, Ernest Jones, Elaine Gottlieb. Noonday Press. $2.75.

By John V. Murra

THE imaginative literature of colonial peoples, particularly African, is oral and traditional. The West relegates it to what it calls folklore, admittedly full of quaint wisdom but hardly ever read. Only when we juxtapose African literature with its art, as was done by Paul Radin in his splendid Bollingen volume, "African Folktales and Sculpture," do we suddenly get the shock of meeting a truly sophisticated if alien view of man.

This literature is doubly inaccessible: it is in the vernacular, and we are impatient with the multiplicity of African languages. Much as Metternich and Fernando VII could not believe that some day there would be a Serbian poetry, a Peruvian novel, or a Rumanian state, so today the idea of Malinke or Akan belles-lettres startles not only the European but also the educated African, trained in Western schools and led to believe that his vernacular is a poor vehicle for what needs to be said.

As for modern forms, Richard Wright explains the scarcity of West African novels and drama on the grounds that these people have not gone through the great adventure of rising from feudalism, that there is no bourgeois class exploring experience and ransacking the world for new sensations. It is true that West Africa has not yet gone through an industrial transformation; still, the change in the last fifty years has been enormous. A large number of Senegalese, Liberians, Sierra Leonans, Togolese, and Nigerians have left the villages of their ancestors to go to Western schools, work in mines and offices, legislate in houses of representatives, and grow crops for sale, not to eat. Here are transformations affecting family ties and the role of women, traditional loyalties, land tenures, and values to match any accompanying industrial revolution in the West. It is bound to create a literature and a reading public, though probably not in the conqueror's tongue, nor necessarily using his art forms. The lesson of Latin American, Balkan, and Asian intellectual life is that a real literature can emerge only as writers return to their own mother-tongue and tradition, fertilized by their outside experience to be sure.

IN THE fall of 1953 the illustrated Paris monthly *Réalités* created a sensation by publishing in instalments "L'Enfant Noir," a series of autobiographical sketches by Camara Laye, a twenty-six-year-old engineering student from Upper Guinea in West Africa. It soon appeared in book form, was mentioned for the Goncourt prize, and actually received the Veillon prize early this year. Its title "softened" to "The Dark Child," it now comes out in English translation.

It is a charming and ingenuous but never naive autobiography of a young boy, the first in his immediate family to get a European and later a technical education. Written during a period of intense homesickness after several years in cold and alien Paris, it is tender in its memories of an African childhood in the town of Kouroussa, on the banks of the Niger. Many relatives and school chums and two young girl friends are sketched

JOHN V. MURRA has been an "area specialist" with the Department of Trusteeship of the United Nations. He is now teaching at Vassar.

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in, but the main personalities are the mother and father, strong, dignified, devoted to the child despite his gradual alienation from their own deep roots in Sudanic tradition. The father was a smith and a leader of smiths; the mother, a descendant of smiths, in a country where those who work metals are a group apart, endowed with unusual and supernatural powers. Writing for a European audience, Mr. Camara is completely relaxed and non-defensive in describing his mother's magic immunity to crocodiles and his father's ability to plan his day and meet the vicissitudes to come because of his constant contact with his guardian spirit, a small black snake living beneath the forge. "I hesitate to say what those powers were. . . . Today, now that I come to remember them, even I hardly know how I should regard them. They seem to be unbelievable; they *are* unbelievable. . . . I see them again as I saw them then. Are there not things around us, everywhere, which are inexplicable? In our country there were mysteries without number, and my mother was familiar with them all."

The author is as matter-of-fact and sensitively informing in describing his anxiety during his initiation ceremony and circumcision as he is over his initial reluctance to take a technical course in high school because it sounded too much like manual labor. Here is the new African writer, the African reader, Richard Wright was looking for: his roots in the unrejected past, his future clearly in the twentieth century. In a recent interview Mr. Camara told reporters that he had no intention to follow a literary career; he planned to return to Guinea as an engineer to take part in the technological transformation of his country. He had written his autobiography in an effort to capture "the face of my country in the process of change."

Such a direct ability to communicate the feelings and anxieties of Westernized Africans is extremely rare. No such personal document, and no review like the African-edited *Présence Africaine,* has yet come out of British West Africa; one wonders if this difference is not more than accidental. French education in Africa is frankly devoted to the creation of a Europeanized élite; nowhere is the African tradition so ignored as on the French side. They may not educate

PURPOSE OF THE RELIGIOUS ADVERTISEMENTS

Belief in God Robbed of Social Justice by Ancient Orthodoxy.—Social Justice overshadowed by "Righteousness."—Reversal of Emphasis Inevitable and Imperative.—Previous advertisements have emphasized that the Hebrew prophets preached a God of social justice (not socialism or communism), and that they were endorsed repeatedly by Jesus of Nazareth. But it is appalling to consider that when *Belief in God* came down from the hills of Palestine and entered the stream of World History, social justice faded from the religious pattern and was overshadowed by "righteousness."

That God requires righteousness is very familiar to all of us from childhood. We were all told, in forceful generalities, that God would punish us if we did not "do right". And yet, very few people, even today, know that the Hebrew prophets proclaimed a God of social and economic justice, and that the prophets were endorsed repeatedly by Jesus. All church people today—orthodox and liberal alike—are honest and sincere. The transformation of Belief in God from its earlier sense of social justice to a merely individual righteousness was accomplished in the far-away Past by orthodox authorities unknown to the masses of the laity today.

Return of Religious Emphasis to Social Justice Inevitable and Indispensable.—No reflection upon the sincerity of present-day church people is implied by the religious problem that has thus come to us from the far-away Past. Nevertheless, if the churches do not choose to follow the prophets and Jesus, and put social justice (not socialism or communism) at the foundation of their belief in God, they will inevitably invite disaster at a time when social problems are pressing upon us as never before, and when social consciousness is rapidly replacing the ancient rugged individualism of orthodoxy and Herbert Hoover.

It is impressive to look back into the hills of Palestine, and to study the great struggles which destroyed paganism and endowed the term "God" with social justice. But it is appalling to think how the insidious propaganda of "righteousness" has been so successful in banishing the sense of social justice from religion, and in reducing the highest concept of the human mind (i. e.,"God") to the state of conventional respectability with which it circulates in our churches, Sunday schools, law courts, colleges, current literature, etc.

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In Addition to Above Circular, Further Material in Preparation.—The title of the new circular is, *Restoration of Social Justice to Religious Belief.* It emphasizes that the process of restoration has already begun, and that these advertisements and circulars are intended to promote the process. The new material will not be ready for some time, however. But if you wish to have a copy, send an additional stamp at once, so as to be in line for it when ready. A request *not* accompanied by a three-cent stamp (or two three-cent stamps in case both circulars are desired) will necessarily bring no results. The great majority of those asking for the printed matter have carefully included postage. And please try not to confuse the two circulars; the first being, *Bulletin of Bible and Hebrew History,* already printed; and second, *Restoration of Social Justice to Religious Belief,* in preparation. You do not incur any responsibility (financial or otherwise) in requesting the printed matter.—L. Wallis, Box 73, Forest Hills, Long Island, N. Y.

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many, but those they do educate get the full, undiluted *lycée,* with its emphasis on humanistic and literary studies. The British may educate larger numbers and be more sympathetic to the vernacular, but their educational system is embedded in a missionary world, with artificial, expatriated, and puritanical standards which they would never hope to impose at home. The modern novel is an important ingredient of French secondary education. The modern French novel is self-critical, realistic, universal; in it the master looks at himself with an unblinking eye, no matter what he may be claiming in the colony. If one writes, one is learning in a great school; one may reject French rule and admire French literature. Puritanism in colonial conditions, on the other hand, is an utter brake on the imagination. The self-hating ambivalences it creates in the colonial student go deeper, are more inhibiting of literary self-revelation.

Clearly, one moving, unself-conscious autobiography and the existence in Paris of a *Présence Africaine* are not enough to verify such assertions. The development of a West African fiction written for African readers must be awaited.

Theater

Harold Clurman

SIDNEY KINGSLEY is a careful craftsman with a talent for genre studies of the shadowy and dramatically unexploited byways of big-city life. To this he adds for the sake of thematic gravity suggestions of social significance—satisfying a certain appetite for moralism in our unsettled audiences. "Men in White" with its piquent details of hospital practice, "Dead End" with its contrast of the proper rich and the delinquent poor on the same street of the city's East Side, "Detective Story" with its colorful glimpses of a central police station—all made absorbing shows. Mr. Kingsley slips when he departs from a sharp documentation of or some consanguinity with his material, as in "Twenty Million Ghosts," an anti-war play about munitions makers, and "Darkness at Noon," a dramatization of Koestler's novel.

In "Lunatics and Lovers" (Broadhurst Theater) Mr. Kingsley attempts a farce about the daffy riffraff of the city, a species of humanity that may be studied at close range and in dense confinement at some of the hostelries on West Forty-seventh and West Forty-eighth streets. The play has no theme or even a trace of social comment and, what is much more damaging in a farce, very little situation or complication of situation. Without these, the seams show, and since by the very nature of its material the seams of "Lunatics and Lovers" are coarse, the result must be discomfiting.

Although all the personnel of "Lunatics and Lovers" are "characters," there are no real people in it, not even journalistic thumbnail sketches like those that were arresting and amusing in "Detective Story," so that the insistent push toward speed and general clamor in the present play creates more strain than fun. There is not even much of the honest dirt which an audience may enjoy when it either accepts it fully as a venial sin or is unaware of any sin at all.

Mr. Kingsley is slumming here. His play conveys the uneasy sense of a man who does not quite know how to behave in an environment toward which he has no real attitude. One has to have bad morals or some moral viewpoint. Mr. Kingsley seems to be experimenting, putting his foot rather gingerly into the muck—an embarrassing gesture.

I must disqualify myself as a critic of Agatha Christie's "Witness for the Prosecution" (Henry Miller's Theater). Show me the man who likes *everything* "good" in the theater and I will show you an adorable simpleton or a person without any taste at all.

Agatha Christie has earned a reputation as a master of the mystery melodrama, and "Witness for the Prosecution" is considered, in London as well as here, one of her best jobs. As I have not read a mystery or a detective story since I was fifteen—I read Conan Doyle then—I am not competent to judge the validity of Agatha Christie's reputation.

At an earlier stage of my theatergoing I saw such plays as "The Unknown People," "The Thirteenth Chair," "The Bat," and "The Gorilla." It is possible that they thrilled me—I can no longer remember what my reaction to them was, nor does it matter. I found ingenuity in "Dial M" two seasons ago, but if I have to be categorical about it, I must acknowledge that the "pure" mystery play, the guessing-game type of play of crime detection, is distinctly the kind of entertainment I do not need.

Since I am in the mood for personal confessions today, I should add that "entertainment" in general—that is, entertainment as titillation—is not what I seek in the theater. The cry for such entertainment, I often think, is based on the unconscious assumption that life is so excruciatingly boring that one requires relief from it through narcotics or stimulants. I am practically never bored by life—even the theater rarely bores me—and I find the theater a rather poor agent as a nerve tonic.

I am reminded, in this regard, of George Jean Nathan's old gag in which he would painstakingly set down the amount and kinds of alcoholic solace he might have consumed if he had not gone to a particular play on a certain night. When a play's chief purpose is to tickle or shock my sensibilities, I always find myself thinking of the many more effective ways in which I could have this done for me—outside the theater.

"Witness for the Prosecution" is never dull. I found its few humorous touches, abetted by the witty swipes of direction contributed by Robert Lewis, its most rewarding aspect. It has a trick ending—ironically clever in its way—it is well done, and Patricia Jessel's part and performance struck me as the most interesting.

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Records

B. H. Haggin

ONE of the year's outstanding events is Columbia's release of Berlioz's Te Deum, one of the works that employ large forces with unfailing discretion and taste—whether in the quiet writing filled with characteristic subtle marvels, or in the brilliantly and grandly sonorous passages which culminate in the final *Judex crederis* with its extraordinary ostinato phrase that is built up to a great climax. Columbia ML-4897 offers a superb performance in which Beecham conducts his Royal Philharmonic Orchestra, the London Philharmonic Choir, the Dulwich College Boys' Choir, the tenor Alexander Young, and the organist Dennis Vaughan.

The Masonic Music of Mozart on Epic 3062 comprises the Cantatas "Dir, Seele des Weltalls" K.429 (1783) and "Die Maurerfreude" K.471 (1785), the "Kleine Freimaurerkantate" K.623 (1792), and the Masonic Funeral Music K.477 (1785). If you listen first to K. 623 you hear mere echoings of "The Magic Flute"; but when you listen to K.429 you discover that "The Magic Flute" was itself written in what might be called Mozart's Masonic style. K.429 is the best of the three cantatas; but most impressive of all is the Funeral Music—a series of musical gestures of solemnity, grief, and resignation, with occasional dramatic events provided by startling modulations. Good performances by the Vienna Symphony, Akademiechor, and soloists under Paumgartner.

Mozart's Violin Concertos K.216 and 218 are played very well by Grumiaux with the Vienna Symphony under Paumgartner on Epic 3060. But the most remarkable and beautiful performances of the two works are still young Gerard Poulet's on Remington 199-131 and 191-125.

Vanguard 454 offers two engaging minor works of Haydn, the Concerto Op. 21 for harpsichord and the Concerto for trumpet—the one played well by Erna Heiller, the other brilliantly by Eskdale, with the Vienna State Opera Orchestra under Litschauer.

Two of Haydn's finest symphonies, Nos. 100 ("Military") and 102, are on London LL-1043, performed excellently by Solti with the London Philharmonic except for the over-deliberate minuet movement of No. 102.

Haydn Society 107 offers all of Handel's pieces for water parties assembled under the title "Water Music," which include a number that are quite as lovely and charming as the ones Harty selected for his suite. The performance of chamber-music proportions by the Hewitt Orchestra delights one with its beauty of tone, phrasing, and texture; and I will add that anyone who prefers a performance of greater sonority that is suitable for this music will find an excellent one by Lehmann with the Berlin Philharmonic on Decca 9594.

Berlioz's charming "Beatrice and Benedict" Overture is played very beautifully by Denzier with L'Orchestre de la Suisse romande on London LD-9143; but the "Benvenuto Cellini" Overture is paced a little too slowly and lacks verve and brilliance.

Virgil Thomson's "Three Pictures for Orchestra"—"The Seine at Night," "Wheat Field at Noon," "Sea Piece with Birds"—and his "Five Songs from William Blake" don't come off for me. Beautiful performances by the Philadelphia Orchestra and Mack Harrell under Thomson and Ormandy on Columbia ML-4919.

Haydn Soicety 114 offers Mozart's Divertimento K.563 for string trio, of which the Adagio and the variation movement are very fine, and a superb ensemble performance by the Pasquier Trio in which the violinist's tone is not always steady, clear, and compact.

The four Adagios and Fugues K.404a of Mozart that the Pasquier Trio plays on Haydn 108 are—after what Henri Ghéon's notes on the envelope lead one to expect—mostly disappointing. The fugues are merely simple transcriptions for string trio of three from Bach's "Well-Tempered Clavier," and one by Wilhelm Friedemann Bach that is the only one I find interesting. And of the adagios that Mozart composed to introduce them I like only the third and fourth.

The Vivaldi Sonatas Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 5 for cello and figured bass that Samuel Mayes plays well with Leo Litwin at the piano on Allegro 95 are all good; but No. 5 is outstandingly beautiful. It is this work—with the realization of the figured bass arranged for strings—that is played sometimes as a Concerto in E minor—for example by Fournier on London LL-687. And though a work without tuttis is not a concerto, the string realization of the figured bass is more attractive than the piano—this in addition to the fact that Fournier's more subtly phrased and more elegant playing is more attractive than Mayes's.

The Vivaldi concertos and sonatas played on Haydn Society 116 by Rampal (flute), Pierlot (oboe), Gendre (violin), Hongne (bassoon), and Veyron-Lacroix (harpsichord) haven't the charm of the ones they played on Haydn Society 82 a year ago.

Boston 208 offers Prokofiev's Sonata Op. 94 in its original form for flute and piano, played well by Doriot Anthony Dwyer and Sanromá. The flute and piano sonorities work together very engagingly, and make this version more attractive than the more familiar version for violin. But it is still a light-weight piece, except for the powerful episode in the finale that is reminiscent of the opening of Bach's Organ Toccata in C. On the reverse side is Roussel's Trio Op. 40 for flute, viola, and cello.

The Vivaldi Cello Sonata No. 5 was played as the Cello Concerto in E minor by the Societa Corelli at its concert for the Concert Society of New York—played with remarkable beauty of tone and phrasing, though with occasional expansive sonorities of the accompanying strings that made the solo cello inaudible. The program included two very poor contemporary pieces, a Sonatina by Mannino and the "Simple Symphony" of Britten; but I don't think this was the reason for the shockingly small audience.

In Coming Issues

"Fragebogen (Questionnaire)," by Ernst von Salomon
Reviewed by Frederick L. Schuman

"Sir Walter Scott," by Hesketh Pearson
Reviewed by Joseph Wood Krutch

"The Red Carpet," by Marshall MacDuffie
Reviewed by Ernest J. Simmons

"A World of Love," by Elizabeth Bowen
Reviewed by Carlos Baker

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Letters

(Continued from inside front cover)

replace. Thus they have been false to the dearest part of our American tradition, without offering us any principles for which we may die, except a merely negative hatred of communism. They have succeeded in being un-American without being radical. To this end we have invented a new inquisition, the Inquisition of Teachers' Oaths and of Congressional Committees. We have synthesized a new propaganda, lacking only one element which is common to the Church and to the Communist Party, and that is the element of Belief. We have accepted the methods, not the ideals of our possible antagonists, little realizing that it is the ideals which have given the methods whatever cogency they possess.

Rogers City, Mich. L. H. GREGORY

Guilt by Association

Dear Sirs: Claude Lightfoot, forty-two-year-old World War II veteran, has been held in Cook County jail for many months, under exorbitant bail of $30,000, solely for "membership in the Communist Party." He was arrested under the hitherto unused Section 2 of the Smith Act, which seeks to establish "guilt by association" as a legal principle.

What we may think of Mr. Lightfoot's political views becomes unimportant in the face of the common threat which his indictment represents for all independent-minded Americans. To permit this case to go unchallenged because it affects Communists today is to open the gate for attacks upon millions of other Americans tomorrow—whether for membership in any of the 250 organizations on the Attorney General's subversive list or for membership in any organization which McCarthyism may choose to brand "subversive" the day after tomorrow.

A group to defend Mr. Lightfoot has been established. Headquarters are at Room 11, 306 East Forty-third Street, Chicago.

LIGHTFOOT DEFENSE COMMITTEE

Chicago

Probability vs. Certainty

Dear Sirs: The belief that one has a monopoly of "truth" is at the heart of every form of totalitarianism or fanaticism; those who do not accept the "true" doctrine *in toto* are enemies to be destroyed. The democratic process, which at present offers the best hope for the dignity of the human spirit, grants that our own beliefs may not be perfect, that the other side may have something in its favor, and that even if it doesn't, it may be influenced to change.

Is certainty the only source of faith? Can we act only when we are free from all doubts? Action based on probability can be as dedicated, but it is far less likely to be blind, heedless of the ultimate goal, unresponsive to the flux of circumstance. A principle conceived in probability may be as doughtily fought for as one founded on absolutes; to say that moral values are relative is not to say that they are all equal or indistinguishable. STUART A. MAYPER

Watham, Mass.

Wanted: Convictions

Dear Sirs: The liberal and constructive organs of opinion should face the facts of our political life and speak out in clear language. The national Administration, in the words of a trade-union officer recently quoted in the press, is definitely and incorrigibly reactionary. It is not middle-of-the-way. That would be tolerable. But wilful or ignorant surrender to big business is not tolerable.

The Administration has made unnecessary concessions to protectionism, to industrial Toryism, to partisan and selfish Republicanism, to greedy commercialism. It has done nothing for labor or for the cause of justice and equal opportunity. It has failed even to conserve national resources.

The President, said *The Nation* editorially, lacked the courage of his convictions in connection with the duty on Swiss watches. The truth is that he *has* no "convictions." He takes the advice of the wrong vested interests and naively assumes that what they want is good for all the ~~rest~~ of us. His apologists pretend that he has no time to think, but it seems that golf, not thinking, is his element. He could find the time for thinking and could find out, quite easily, whom he should consult in order to receive sound, enlightened, progressive advice. He lacks that will, too. VICTOR S. YARROS

La Jolla, Calif.

Sean O'Casey

Dear Sirs: Non-poet Harold Clurman's eloquence *in re* Sean O'Casey's talents in your November 27 issue is in joyous contrast to poet Horace Gregory's sloughbound stutterings on the same subject. The poet forgot his wings in a recent issue of a national literary weekly, and his words on O'Casey wound up somewhere near Okefenokee. Your excellent drama critic, it appears, is far more the bard than are some proclaimed versifiers.

Chicago STUDS TERKEL

Schuman on Toynbee

Dear Sirs: Frederick L. Schuman's piece in *The Nation* of November 6 is the very best comment or summing up I've ever read on the controversial Dr. Toynbee.

Syracuse, N. Y. CARL H. FISHER

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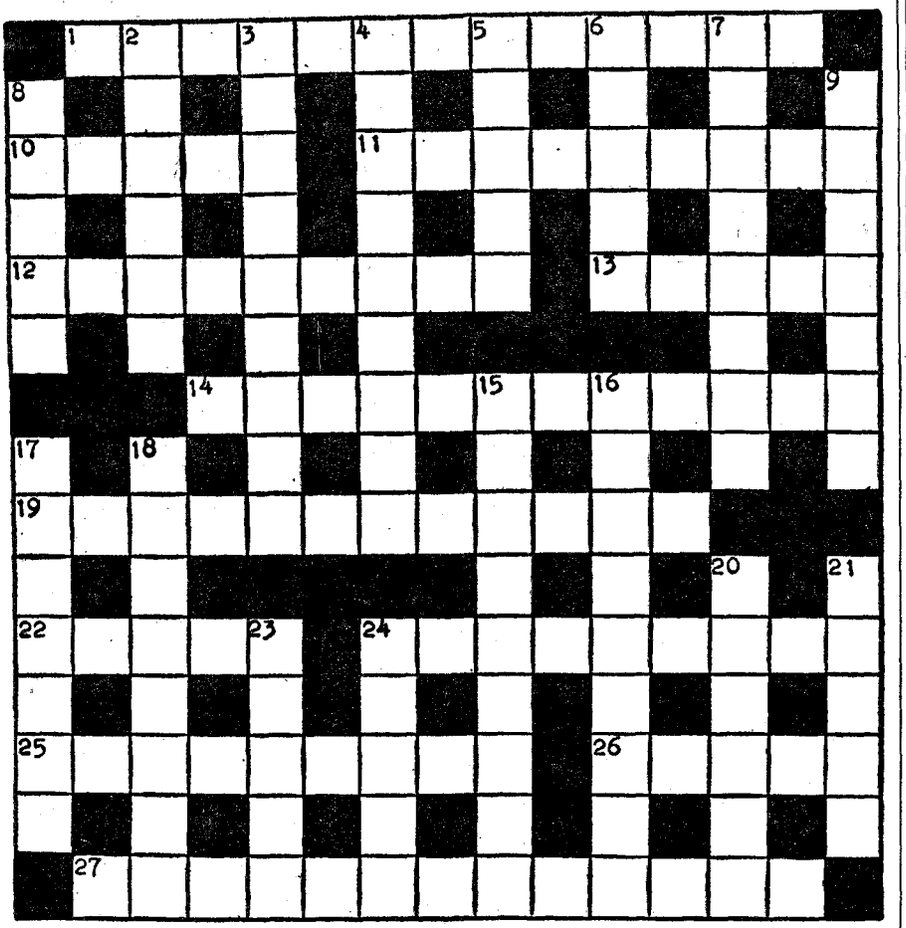
Crossword Puzzle No. 600

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Proving time is final, in a small way. (13)
10 and 21 down. They always seem to be, when you ask for your favorite dish. (3, 2, 5)
11 Overflowing. (9)
12 Anger caused when I dined in mink? (9)
13 Did she have a wild time, one way or another? (5)
14 Box bosses that control the carriers. (5, 7)
19 An old soldier is nothing more than a big monster. (5, 7)
22 Meat from cut-up animals? (5)
24 Cheat. (9)
25 Each Riviera arranges this serenade with ease. (9)
26 A little bit of salt and sweetness from Little Old New York. (5)
27 Sounds as though there might be money in John L's business, but they can't predict how Indianapolis will make out. (5, 8)

DOWN

2 There are only 5 vowels if A, E, I, O and U are included, but——. (6)
3 Implying the girl pined in the hospital? (9)
4 Cheap skates will make one of you. (9)
5 Pour out pore. (5)
6 Where the mail's likely to be hard for us to read. (5)
7 Angus makes it useful, but in Germany it's to use up. (8)
8 21, belonging to Doris. (5)
9 The way Siam is about about a cat, in theory. (7)
15 A coming, if somewhat strange, grandee. (9)
16 Run-of-the-stream variety? (9)
17 Floral cup. (7)
18 The beach of two islands? (4-4)
20 Give testimony at a trial, obviously. (6)
21 See 10 across.
23 This log is from Ireland, of course. (5)
24 Its ports aren't fixed. (5)

• • • • • • •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 599

ACROSS:—1 CRASH; 4 WORKBENCH; 9 AIR-COOLED; 10 LEVEL; 11 GRENADINE; 12 BALED; 13 STUDIOUSLY; 17 DRAGONNADE; 21 NOTED; 22 INEBRIATE; 23 MORAL; 24 NIGHTTIME; 26 EAGER.

DOWN:—2 AGREED; 3 HOOKAH; 4 WELL-INTENTIONED; 5 RED-HEADED LEAGUE; 6 and 25 BELL BOOK AND CANDLE; 7 NOVELIST; 8 HOLIDAYS; 14 ADYNAMIA; 15 CAPTURED; 16 CORDELIA; 18 WRITHE; 19 and 1 down TAKING CHARGE; 20 VENEER.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York.

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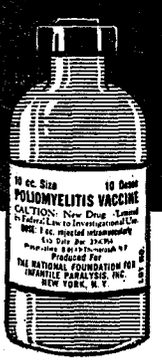
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